

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

LV. VOL. III. No. 2.]

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 26TH, 1842.

[PRICE FOURPENCE.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER

is an Evening Paper, and is published once a fortnight, on alternate Wednesdays, by L. WILD, 13, Catherine Street, Strand, London. It is sold also by W. EVERETT, 16, Finch Lane, Cornhill; and may be had of all news-venders throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum.

** Except in peculiar cases, the *Anti-slavery Reporter* should not be ordered from the Anti-slavery Office, but from such news-agent as may be most convenient.

CONTENTS.

Slave Trade and Dutch Soldiers	9	Slavery in Cuba:—England and Spain	14
Emigration from Africa to the West Indies	10	The Mendians	14
Law of Slavery in British India	11	The "Cry" from British Guiana	15
LEADERS: Paris	12	Spain: the Junta of Commerce of Catalonia	—
Mr. Turnbull	—	European and American Emigrants in Jamaica	16
Dutch Slave Trade	—	Unheard of cruelties in Guadeloupe	—
The Creole	—		
Demand of the British Government for the release of Slaves illegally introduced into Cuba and Brazil	13		

SLAVE-TRADE AND DUTCH SOLDIERS.

We learn from some of our friends in Holland that the article entitled "Dutch Slave-Trade," copied, together with its title, from the *Morning Herald*, and stated so to be, has been the subject of much unpleasant animadversion. This, we are informed, has been the case, both in conversation and on the part of the Dutch newspaper press. The *Staats Courant*, an official or government paper, appears to have made it the occasion of a pointed attack upon the *Reporter* and its promoters, in an article which has been extensively copied into the other Dutch newspapers. We, therefore, feel called upon to notice the subject generally, together with the article referred to, and request the dispassionate perusal by our readers in Holland of the remarks we are about to make. We think it, however, an act of justice towards those who complain of our conduct, to insert in the first place the whole of the article referred to, contained in the *Staats Courant*. It is as follows:—

The *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

An article appears in the number of this periodical of the 29th December last, under the very significant title of *Dutch slave-trade*, which cannot remain unanswered. That article contains a tissue of shameful falsehoods, of which the following are the chief:—

"For some years past thousands of Africans have been carried off from St George d'Elmina to the East Indies, under the name of recruits, but in reality to undergo life-long bondage."

The numbers of Africans conveyed from Elmina to India for the military service amounts, since the commencement of this manner of recruiting, to about two thousand in all. Two is certainly a number, but when the real fact here stated is compared with the account given, the latter to say no more of it is rather hyperbolical.

The negro soldiers are neither slaves nor "bondsmen." They are enlisted for a limited term of years, and several of these military having served out their time have already returned to Elmina, some in the enjoyment of pensions, to which the wounds they had received gave them a right. In the Dutch East Indian settlements they are allowed the same pay, and experience the same treatment as the European soldiers.

Although the wish to be moderate has caused us to give the two first untruths in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* the mild name of hyperbolical misrepresentations, we must be more severe with regard to those that follow.

"The recruits (this publication states) are furnished by the Ashantee princes. The strongest and healthiest are selected at Elmina—the remaining, usually two-thirds or three-fourths of the number, are murdered in cold blood."

We should fear to insult those readers of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* who exercise their judgment, by a detailed refutation of this statement, in which the calumniator so far misses his aim by exaggeration, that he really makes a very serious matter appear ridiculous. The number of recruits approved of and carried off, amounts according to him to thousands. But the amount of these, stands in proportion to those rejected as one to three; and the latter being all deliberately slaughtered, this carnage must have been to the extent of at least ten thousand.

Is it to be thought that such nonsense is believed by him who wrote it? Certainly not, but this furnishes new proof that candour and the love of truth are not the characteristics of the periodical press of the present time, not even of that part which fights under the banner of that Master whose lips were never sullied by falsehood.

That this observation may be fully applied to the periodical which we are now confuting, will appear convincingly from our reply to the last series of remarks of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

"Those thus murdered (says the paper) are, however, the most fortunate; for of those who go on the voyage, not one-half reach the place of destination. The mortality during the voyage is frightful. Out of one hundred of these poor wretches, shipped towards the close of last year, but seventeen arrived. The others had died from thirst, the water casks or tanks having run empty by leakage."

As a convincing refutation of this shameful mis-statement, a list follows, made up from official sources, of all the divisions of negro recruits sent off to India in the years 1837, 1838, 1839, and 1840, and of the numbers landed there. The names of the vessels and their measurement in English tons are also mentioned, partly to show that the detachments were very comfortably lodged, and likewise in order to facilitate further investigation on the part of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, should it be considered necessary.

Names of the vessels.	Measure- ment. Tons Eng.	Year of departure.	Number of negro recruits.
		Shipped at Elmina.	Discharged at Batavia.
Jonge Adriana	600	1837	80
Jacobus	352	ditto	71
Vinus Maria	777	ditto	140
Anthony	714	ditto	80
Hendrika	1400	ditto	151
Elizabeth	544	1837-8	80
India	1400	ditto	100
Maria	451	1838	80
Rhoon and Pendrecht	1300	ditto	100
Mensdo	949	ditto	120
Princess Marianne	1000	1838-9	150
Elizabeth	544	1839	105
Jacobus	352	ditto	70
Jonge Adriana	600	ditto	67
Batavia	1098	1839-40	110
Menado	949	1840	119
Maria	451	ditto	58
Anthony	714	ditto	83
Total			1764 1741

Thus it appears that, of 1764 recruits sent off during the course of four years, 1741 had reached their place of destination—that the deaths have been on an average one and a half in the hundred, instead of fifty—that, so far from a detachment sent by the *Anthony* (which vessel sailed towards the end of 1840) having melted down from one hundred men to seventeen, not one on the contrary of the eighty-three men sent by her was lost; and lastly, that, if on board one of these ships which went off in 1840, the water leaked out of the casks, the negroes appear to possess the important secret of doing without that first necessary of human life in a remarkable manner.

After the *Anthony*, three more vessels (the *Menado*, *Jacobus*, and *Europa*.) were sent to Elmina for fetching recruits, but it is not yet known how they have discharged their detachments. The last-named will take away the whole negro depot, government having given directions to stop the African recruiting, finding by experience that it is impossible to maintain sufficient discipline among the negro troops, compatibly with the mild regulations of our military code.

We object in the first place, to the manner in which these remarks were introduced to the Dutch public, because we regard it as uncandid and unjust. The paragraph is quoted as one originally furnished by the *Reporter*, and published upon its authority. We have, however, already remarked that this is not the case, as will at once appear by a reference to our publication of the date specified. It is indeed remarked in another part of our columns, that "the article on Dutch slave-trade adds a melancholy interest to what we have already stated concerning the voyage of the *Europa*."

It will thus be seen precisely how far the editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* is responsible for all the particulars contained in the article which he has borrowed from the *Morning Herald*. This we believe to be just as much as the *Staats Courant* could be considered answerable for extracting a communication respecting foreign affairs from the *Journal de la Haye*, and noticing such a communication in a few lines, from which it might be inferred that the editor of the *Staats Courant* supposed the news which is thus given to be founded on facts.

It deserves here to be noticed, in reference to the probable value of the information thus given, that the *Morning Herald* is a paper in extensive circulation, holding a respectable station in the newspaper press, and has been honourably distinguished for the advocacy of several important questions of a humane, rather than of a political or party character. The article was originally published in the columns of the *Herald* as a letter from a correspondent, and bears the date of "the Hague."

We confess that it did not occur to us that the general character of the communication was such as should induce us at once to put it aside, and the editor of the *Herald* appears to have taken the same view of the subject. Conscious of our own desire simply to record the truth, as far as we are acquainted with it, on all matters which have relation to the slave-trade and slavery, we did not imagine that the individual who has addressed the *Herald* was actuated by other or opposite feelings. We did not indeed submit the document to the same searching revision to which many of our articles are subjected, because we do not consider ourselves to be equally responsible for statements which are introduced as resting upon other authority than our own, as for those which we ourselves insert from communications furnished directly to us, or upon our own knowledge. Every dispassionate reader who understands the subject, will, we think, admit the reasonableness of this view. It is highly probable that many persons who have read the remarks in the *Staats Courant*, will consider some of the statements which have been made in connexion with the purchase of slaves by the Dutch government as much more fallacious than is really the case. Those who are unacquainted with those frightful scenes which are continually occurring in Africa in connexion with the commerce in human beings, cannot form any just conception of what is likely to take place in transactions which involve the purchase and sale of our fellow-men in that country.

The principal points on which, from the statements made in the *Staats Courant*, erroneous ideas appear to have been given, in connexion with the subject under notice, are—and some of these doubtless are of no small importance—that for thousands said for several years past to have been carried off to the Dutch Indies, within the last four years about two thousand only have been thus sent; and that the mortality during the voyage to the East Indies generally, and on a particular occasion, are very greatly overstated, having really been as (it appears) one and a-half per cent, instead of one half only being destined to reach the place which is described as the land of their captivity. The alleged fact, that "out of one hundred of these poor wretches shipped towards the close of last year, but seventeen reached the Dutch East India colonies alive," appears to be without foundation. These we deem to be the most important statements which the evidence furnished by the *Staats Courant* is calculated to rebut.

We do not find any satisfactory refutation of the charge, that very large numbers of slaves rejected as unfit for the Dutch military service, are put to death by those who had provided them. It is indeed true, that the proportionate number of those who are said to be thus rejected is greater than on consideration we should deem very probable; but, independently of this circumstance, there is nothing in the statement on this point at variance with facts which have frequently occurred at all periods known to us in connexion with the slave-trade, or inconsistent with that awful degree of depravity and wickedness which may be reasonably expected from traffickers in human beings.

We do not attach great importance to the alleged good treatment of the African soldiers, as stated in the *Staats Courant*, and think that it is scarcely consistent with the concluding passage in that journal, which states that government has ordered the enlisting of Africans to be stopped, as experience shows the impossibility of maintaining a proper discipline among the negro soldiers, and of preserving the mild regulations of their military institutions. Has it then we would ask been found needful in years that are past to treat these ignorant and unhappy Africans with much harshness, or has the usual military discipline in their case been neglected? We think there can be little doubt as to the course which has been adopted.

We shall not ask what is the number now living of those who have thus been expatriated; but we may express our sincere satisfaction in the determination at which the Dutch government has arrived, that the encouragement which we cannot conceal from ourselves has been given to the slave-trade, by the purchase on their account of persons held as slaves, is for the future to cease.

It is well known to those conversant with the history of the slave-trade, that not less than double the number of those sold as slaves are computed to be destroyed in procuring them. This loss of life arises from those acts of treachery and violence to which the slave-trade is a continual incentive—including the burning of innumerable villages, and the wars which are continually waged—the number who perish in the journey to the coast, and at the place of exportation—in the latter place, either from the want of necessaries, or the sufferings which they undergo—and the by no means uncommon circumstance of the murder of those who do not meet with purchasers.

Thus it will be seen that, whatever may have been the proportion of those who met their death in the manner last mentioned among those who have been provided for the supply of the Dutch government, it is not improbable that, for every Dutch soldier thus procured, two Africans have been doomed to perish. In confirmation of this view of the subject, we may appeal to Sir T. F. Buxton's recent work on the slave-trade, and

to Clarkson's *History of the Abolition of the Slave-trade*. We hope that we shall never again have occasion to refer to this painful subject. We cannot but suppose that the Dutch government and people would indignantly disclaim a charge of being in any manner accessory to such acts of barbarity; but melancholy facts prove that there are few indeed among professedly Christian countries, and especially those which have foreign possessions, which must not, if honest to themselves, plead guilty of having done in numerous instances that which assuredly they ought not to have done. Few indeed are there which are even now free from the shame and guilt of countenancing the most frightful injustice towards a considerable portion of those over whom they hold a distant rule. What shall be said of allowing a system to remain, founded upon a crime now so generally abhorred as the African slave-trade! What shall be said of legalizing a property, the title to which is robbery and murder, which, so long as it exists, involves the practice of daily injustice, in denying to the labourer the fair reward of his toil, and which, by its multiplied privations and sufferings, abridges in countless instances the period of human existence?

In conclusion, we may express our entire willingness at any time to correct any mistake which may find an entrance into our journal, having one motive only for our labours, to diffuse as far as possible simple unadulterated truth in reference to those who are the objects of our deep sympathy, believing that we shall thus best promote the early termination of their cruel and unmerited sufferings.

EMIGRATION FROM AFRICA TO THE WEST INDIES.

To promote this object Mr. Burnley has put forth a bulky pamphlet of nearly two hundred pages. It is entitled, *Observations on the present condition of the island of Trinidad, and the actual state of the experiment of negro emancipation*. By far the larger part of it, however, consists of the Report of the Trinidad Agricultural Committee, and the evidence taken by them, both of which have already appeared in the island papers. The observations of Mr. Burnley occupy about forty pages only, and these are couched in a phraseology which indicates (very clearly on some occasions) that he wishes to be considered, in making them, as expressing the sentiments of the Committee. In this we have no doubt he is perfectly justified, inasmuch as it has been evident throughout that the Trinidad Agricultural Committee has been merely a device for bringing forward with more of pomp and circumstance the views of Mr. Burnley. Hence it has arisen, we presume, that there is nothing new in the whole pamphlet; but that it is merely a repetition, with a show of documents, of the sentiments which the world has known Mr. Burnley to hold for some years past.

In examining his present *brochure*, we find much reason to complain of unfairness. This highly unsatisfactory quality manifests itself in the very title of his pamphlet. He calls it, "Observations on the present condition of the island of Trinidad, and the actual state of the experiment of Negro Emancipation." Now Mr. Burnley knows as well as we do that "the experiment of Negro Emancipation" has been tried in more places than Trinidad. He endeavours to show, indeed, (p. 5) that this island may be taken, not merely as a fair, but as a favourable sample of the entire British West Indies; but in some important respects this is altogether untrue. If the view he gives of the moral degradation of the blacks in Trinidad since emancipation (which, however, the evidence is far from bearing out) is correct, there are islands—we name Jamaica as one—in which the reverse has taken place; and the prevalence of immorality in Trinidad (on which it will be seen by a reader of Mr. Burnley's observations that he lays much stress) is, therefore, not a characteristic result of emancipation as such, but an accidental result, arising from the absence in one case of those salutary moral elements which abounded in others. Mr. Burnley should have professed to tell us the result of emancipation *only in the island of Trinidad*.

There are instances of unfairness still more important. Mr. Burnley makes his whole list of mischiefs end in the proposal of one remedy, namely the importation of more labourers from Africa; and, of course, if there is any justice in such a mode of argument, it must be on the assumption that all the evils mentioned would be relieved by the remedy proposed. We do not for a moment believe that Mr. Burnley imposes on himself by any such imagination. We take again the alleged bad state of morals for an example, and ask whether the extensive importation of Africans can have any tendency to diminish an evil of this sort. And yet, either the case is so put, or else all that relates to the morals of the peasantry in Trinidad is utterly irrelevant to the object of the pamphlet.

It is a further instance of unfairness, that Mr. Burnley should exhibit as emphatically the motive of his plan, the tendency which he ascribes to it of conferring benefits on the exported Africans, and of extinguishing the slave-trade. We do not mean to ascribe, either to Trinidad planters in general, or to Mr. Burnley in particular, insincerity in their professed regard for these objects; but we cannot hesitate to express our belief that it is not on account of its humane results that they are longing to export Africans to the West Indies. We surely do them no wrong in saying that their object is profit. What they want is to cheapen and extend the manufacture of sugar. Had it not been for this, no plan for extinguishing the slave-trade or

improving the Africans would ever have emanated from them, and least of all this particular plan of a copious emigration to Trinidad. It is unfair, therefore, to frame this argument as though the planters were actuated by benevolent motives, and as though persons not concurring with them must be hostile to their benevolent designs. An egregious example of this unfairness is furnished by Mr. Burnley, at p. 30, where the following passage is printed in italics :—

" The question now to be considered is, whether the plan proposed of liberating African slaves, and conveying them to a British colony, there to enjoy freedom and the benefits of civilization, is calculated in its effects immediately to diminish, and at no distant period entirely to extinguish, the slave-trade ; and if so, whether any single step in the proceedings required to accomplish it appears so objectionable as to induce a wise and humane legislator to decline its adoption."

Now we must be permitted to say that this is *not* the question. The question is whether, for the planters' profit, and for furnishing them with the means of extending the cultivation of sugar, the British government shall sanction the exportation of Africans to the West Indies. The manifest endeavour to keep this out of view, and to make opponents feel as if they were resisting the civilization of Africa and the extinction of the slave-trade, is an artifice of which a good cause would scarcely have availed itself.

To these instances of unfairness we must add another, of equal importance. Mr. Burnley represents his proposal as "a plan of liberating African slaves." This is too bad. It is a plan for *buying* African slaves. In no sense is it a plan for liberating them, but that—as is alleged—they are to be set free when bought. But as, on the one hand, this allegation, if it were true, could never sanction the institution of an African traffic in slaves, so, on the other, the allegation itself is untrue. Not one so purchased will have the name of freedom till he reaches Trinidad, or the substance of it when he arrives there. The thing intended is a *forcible expatriation*, and a state of compulsory servitude ; and this is called conferring liberty !

We have noticed the unfairness by which Mr. Burnley's observations are so extensively characterized, because we think it ought to go far towards neutralizing them. He may be regarded as a special pleader, whose aim is not to do justice to a subject, but to make out a case ; and who cares not, so as he can exhibit a plausible case, by how much hood-winking and artifice it is done. We frankly confess that the perusal of this pamphlet has greatly impaired the confidence we had in him.

As to the main question, we may certainly take his putting the stress of it on the tendency of his proposal to benefit Africa and terminate the slave-trade, as an acknowledgment that, on the ground of profit to the planters, his appeal to the public is hopeless. His piece of cajolery for the abolitionists he endeavours to support by an argument, the gist of which is, that, if we buy slaves to work them as freemen, we shall get more profit out of them than our rival man-dealers of Cuba and Brazil. That there is a fearful atrocity in this argument must be obvious at a glance. The systematic purchase of slaves on the coast of Africa, by which alone Mr. Burnley's scheme could be carried out, must generate such enormous crimes and miseries on that unhappy continent, that we are utterly amazed how any one professing a regard for its improvement can have entertained it for an instant. A writer in the *Colonial Gazette*, going a little more honestly into this question than Mr. Burnley, offers a suggestion by which he thinks the *slave-trading* aspect of the scheme may be got over.

" Let us see if the stimulus might not be equally applied without *purchasing* the enslaved. Suppose a dépôt were established at any given place on the African coast, and that the European emigration-agent were to make it known among chiefs and slave-dealers, that he would give a bounty at least equal to the current price of a slave, possibly exceeding it, on the embarkation of every voluntary emigrant brought to the dépôt. He might make the native agent understand that he would have no prisoners, and would not be a party to their detention or embarkation : it might be a rule, that all emigrants should be brought to the dépôt at least a certain number of days before deportation ; arrived at the dépôt, they would be treated as freemen ; its gates would be open, there would be no constraint upon their actions ; but the bonus would not be payable till their embarkation. It appears to us that some such modification of the Trinidad plan might have considerable advantages : it would not be a purchasing of slaves, but literally a procuring of free recruits ; it would insure the emigrants being to some extent a party to the bargain ; and it would put into the mind of the African a totally new idea—that a *free* migration was desirable, practicable, and profitable."

This is certainly almost enough to excite a smile, even on a matter of the deepest melancholy. Which of the "chiefs or slave-dealers," let us ask, would consent to part with his slave, as such, until the "bonus"—only another name for purchase-money—were secured to him ? Or what, let us ask further, would be the condition of those "free-men" at the barracoons who should not choose to emigrate ; but, by going as "freemen" to their homes, should deprive the "chiefs and slave-dealers" of their anticipated "bonus" ? The muskets and spears of "chiefs and slave-dealers" would be as effectual constraints to emigrate as the bland promises of the "emigration agent," and would certainly be as persuasively employed. We take this suggestion of our sagacious contemporary as indicating his conviction that the system proposed is vicious at the core ; and we recommend to him his own advice, that "well-meaning men should give over 'cheating themselves with names.'

LAW OF SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA.

The following authoritative exposition of the law of slavery among the Mohammedans and Hindoos of British India was given by the officers of the Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut, in consequence of information before that court that frequent irregularities had been practised in the acquisition of slaves, and also that, in some instances, the treatment of them, especially of female slaves, was cruel or otherwise immoral.

MOHAMMEDAN SLAVERY.

All men are by nature free and independent, and no man can be a subject of property, except an infidel inhabiting a country not under the power and control of the faithful. This right of possession which the Moslems have over Hurbees (infidels fighting against the faith), is acquired by Isteela, which means the entire subduement of any subject of property by force of arms. The original right of property which one man may possess over another is to be acquired solely by Isteela, and cannot be obtained in the first instance by purchase, donation, or heritage. When, therefore, an Imaum subdues by force of arms any one of the cities inhabited by infidels, such of them as may be taken prisoners become his rightful property, and he has the power of putting them to death or making them slaves, and distributing them as such among the ghazees (victorious soldiers), particularly when fighting against infidels ; or he may set them at liberty in a Mussulman country, and levy the capitation tax ; should he make them slaves, they become legal subjects of property, and are transferable by sale, gift, or inheritance. But if, after captivity, they should become converts to Islam (the faith), the power of death over them is thereby barred, though they would continue slaves ; for, slavery being the necessary consequence of original infidelity, the conversion to Islam does not affect the prior state of bondage to which the individual has been regularly rendered liable by Isteela, provided this be clearly established. From this it is evident that the same rules are applicable to the slaves of both sexes. If slaves are afterwards sold or given away by the Imaum, or by the ghazees, who shared at the distribution, or if they should become the property of another by inheritance, they then become slaves under the three different classes of purchase, donation, and inheritance.

If a female should bear offspring by any other than by her legal lord and master, whether the father be a freeman or a slave, and whether the slave of the said master or of any other person, in any one of these cases such offspring is subject to slavery, and these are called khanazad (born in the family) ; but, if the children be the acknowledged offspring of the right owner, they are then free, and the mother of them (being the parent of a child by her master) becomes, at his decease, free also ; and this rule is applicable to all their descendants to the latest posterity. The practice among free men and women of selling their own offspring, during the time of famine, is exceedingly improper and unjustifiable, being in direct opposition to the principle above stated, viz., that no man can be a subject of property, except an infidel taken in the act of hostilities against the faith. In no case can a person, legally free, become a subject of property ; and children not being the property of their parents, all sales or purchases of them, as any other articles of illegal property, are consequently invalid. It is also illegal for any freeman to sell his own person, either in time of famine, or though he be oppressed by a debt which he is unable to discharge. For in the first of these cases a famished man may feed upon a dead body ! or may rob another ; and a distressed debtor is not liable to any fine or punishment.

We are not acquainted with the principal or detailed circumstances, which led to the custom prevailing in most Mussulman countries of purchasing and selling the inhabitants of Zanguibar, Ethiopia, Nubia, and other negroes : but the ostensible causes are, either that the negroes sell their own offspring, or that Mussulman or other tribes of people take them prisoners by fraud, or seize them by stealth from the sea shores. In such cases they are not legally slaves, and the sale and purchase of them are consequently invalid. But if a Mussulman army, by order of an Imaum, should invade their country, and make them prisoners of war by force of arms, they are then legal slaves ; provided that such negroes are inhabitants of a country under the government of infidels, and in which a Mussulman is not entitled to receive the full benefit and protection of his own laws. With regard to the custom, prevailing in this country, of hiring children from their parents for a very considerable period, such as for seventy or eighty years, and under this pretext making them slaves, as well as their produce also, under the denomination of khanazad (domestic slaves), the following laws are applicable :—" It is lawful and proper for parents to hire out their children on service, but this contract of hire becomes null and void when the child arrives at the years of discretion, as the right of parentage then ceases. A free man, who has reached the years of discretion, may enter into a contract to serve another, but not for any great length of time, such as for seventy years ; as this also is a mere pretext, and has the same object of slavery in view, whereas the said free man has the option of dissolving any contract of hire under either of the following circumstances :—It is the custom, in contracts of this nature, for a person hired on service to receive a compensation in money, clothes, and food, as the price of hire ; any day therefore that a servant receives such a compensation, he is in duty bound to serve for that day, but not otherwise. The condition of contract of hire requires that the return of profit be equal to the price of hire, and this cannot be ascertained but by degrees, and in course of time. The contract of hire, therefore, becomes complete, or fulfilled according to the services or benefit actually rendered in return for the price of hire received, and the person hired has consequently the option of dissolving the contract at any moment of the period originally agreed for.

It is unavoidable and necessary in contracts of a different nature, such as in rent of land, &c., that the lessee should not have this power ; but, reverting to contracts of hire for service for a long period, the nefarious practices of subjecting free men to a state of bondage under this pretence, it appears expedient to provide against such abuses ; and with this view to restrict the period for service in all contracts of hired freemen to a month, or year, or the utmost to three years, as in cases of Ijariawurif, a form of endowment. It is customary also among the Zumeni Tewaif, to purchase female free children from their parents, or by engagements directly with the children themselves ; exclusively of the illegality of such purchases, there is a further evil resulting from this practice, which is, the children

are taught dancing and singing for others, and are also made prostitutes, which are extremely improper, and expressly forbidden by the law.

The rightful proprietor of male and female slaves has a claim to the services of such slaves to the extent of their ability. He may employ them in baking, cooking, in making, dyeing, and washing clothes; as agents in mercantile transactions; in attending cattle, in tillage, or cultivation; as carpenters, ironmongers, and goldsmiths; in transcribing; as weavers, and in manufacturing woollen cloths; as shoemakers, boatmen, twisters of silk, water-drawers; in shaving; in performing surgical operations, such as cupping, &c., as farriers, bricklayers, and the like. He may hire them out in service in any of the above capacities; he may employ them himself, or for the use of his family, in other duties of a domestic nature, such as in fetching water for washing on *erazoo* (religious purification), or anointing his body with oil, rubbing his feet, or attending his person while dressing, and in guarding the door of his house, &c. He may also have connexion with his legal female slave, provided she is arrived at the years of maturity, and the master or proprietor has not previously given her in marriage to another.

If a master oppress his slave by employing him on any duty beyond his ability, as insisting upon his carrying a load which he is incapable of bearing, or climbing a tree which he cannot, the Hakim or ruling power may chastise him. It is also improper for a master to order his slave to do that which is forbidden by the law, such as putting an innocent person to death, setting fire to a house, tearing the clothes off another, or prostituting himself by adultery and fornication; to steal or drink spirits, or to slander and abuse the chaste and virtuous; and, if a master be guilty of such like oppressions, the Hakim may inflict exemplary punishment by *Fazeer* and *Ugoobut Hugool Illah* (literally the right of God), and meaning on principles of public justice.

It is further unlawful for a master to punish his male or female slave for disrespectful conduct, and such like offences, further than by *tadeeb* (correction), as the power of passing sentence of *tazeer* and *qisaas* is solely vested in the Hakim. If, therefore, the master should exceed the limits of his power of chastisement above stated, he is liable to *tazeer*. If a master should have connexion with his female slave before she has arrived at the years of maturity, and, if the female slave should in consequence be seriously injured, or should die, the ruling power may punish him by *tazeer* and *Ugoobut Hugool Illah*, as before defined.

If the master of male or female slaves should tyrannize over them by treating them unjustly, stinting them in food, or imposing upon them duties of an oppressive nature; or if a master should have connexion with his slave girl before she has arrived at the years of maturity, or should give her in marriage to another, with permission to cohabit with her in this state, such master sins against the divine laws, and the ruling power may punish him; but the commission of such crimes by the master does not authorize the manumission of the slave, nor has the Hakim any right or authority to grant emancipation. Adverting to the principle upon which the legality of slavery is originally established, viz., that the subject of property must be an infidel, and taken in the act of hostilities against the faith; and also to the several branches of legal slavery arising from this principle, as by purchase, donation, inheritance, and *khanzadee*; whenever a case of possession of an unlawful male or female slave should be referred to the Hakim for investigation, it is his duty to pass an order, according to the original right of freedom of such individual, to deprive the unjust proprietor of possession, and to grant immediate emancipation to the slave.

HINDOO SLAVERY.

There are fifteen different sorts of male and female slaves, as follows:—1st, *Girihgat*, that is, born of a female slave; 2nd, *Kireet*, that is, one bought for a price, either from the parents or from the former owner; 3rd, *Lubdh*, that is, one received in donation; 4th, *Dayada pagut*, that is, one acquired by inheritance; 5th, *Unakut Chirt*, that is, one maintained or protected in time of famine; 6th, *Aheet*, that is, a slave pledged by his master; 7th, *Bundus*, that is, a distressed debtor, voluntarily engaged to serve his creditor for a stipulated period; 8th, *Joodh purput*, that is, one taken captive in war; 9th, *Punjeeet*, that is, won in a stake or gambling wager; 10th, *Oofigut*, that is, one offering himself in servitude, without any compensation or return; 11th, *Purburjees busit*, that is, a Brahmin relinquishing a state of religious mendicancy which he had voluntarily assumed; an apostate mendicant, however, is the slave of the rajah or government only; 12th, *Ibrit kal*, that is, stipulated, or one offering himself in servitude for a stipulated time; 13th, *Bhuegal das*, that is, one offering himself in servitude for the sake of food; 14th, *Birbar chirt*, that is, one becoming a slave on condition of marriage with a slave girl; 15th, *Atmu bikrita*, that is, self sold, or one who has sold himself for a price. Authorities, *Mituchra-uprusk*, *Rutnakur*, *Ribad chinta*, *Nunie kul putro*, and others.

The owner of a male or female slave may require of such slave the performance of impure work, such as plastering and sweeping the house, cleaning the door, gateway, and necessary; rubbing his master's naked body, (*bunudome nebanu*) with oil, and clothing him; removing fragments of victuals left at his master's table, and eating them; removing urine and human ordure; rubbing his master's feet and other limbs, &c. In cases of disobedience or fault committed by the slave, the master has power to beat his slave with a thin stick, or to bind him with a rope: and, if he should consider the slave deserving of severe punishment, he may pull his hair or expose him upon an ass; but, if the master should exceed this extent of his authority, and inflict punishment upon his slave of a severer nature than above stated, he is liable to pay a fine to the Hakim or ruling power, of a thousand puns of eight thousand cowries. This is declared by *Menu*, according to *Patnaker Bebbad*, *Chinta*, *Munnie*, and other authorities.

A master has no right to command his male or female slave to perform any other duties besides those specified in the answer to the second question, or authority to punish his slave further than in the manner before stated; and, if he should exceed this discretionary power, in either case, he is liable to the same penalty, viz. one thousand puns of cowries. This is declared by *Menu* and *Besbie*.

The commission of offences of the above nature by the master does not affect the state of the slave; and the ruling power has not the right of granting his manumission. But, if it should be established in evidence before the Hakim, that any person having stolen or inveigled away a child or slave had afterwards sold him to another, or that any person had com-

elled another into a state of slavery by violence, the ruling power may then order the emancipation of such child or slave; and if a master, or any other person by permission of the master, should cohabit with a slave girl before she has arrived at the years of maturity, and this fact be proved, the ruling power may sentence such offender to pay a fine of fifty puns of cowries, but cannot emancipate the slave girl.

Whenever a slave girl has borne a child by her master, such slave, together with the child, becomes free, and the ruling power should sanction their emancipation.

This is the law declared by *Jak Bulk Mannoo* and *Kutoo bun*, according to *Mittuchora* and other authorities.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

In the last subscription list, under *Cheltenham*, instead of "the difference in the expense incurred in printing, &c." read "the difference is the amount paid for Society's publications, and in helping the agency."

E. S. A., on Anti-slavery Sentiment in Germany, shall be inserted as soon as possible.

We fear the notice of *M. L'Instant's Prize Essay* is too long for our columns; but we will do our best to find room for it.

Mr. Haughton's letter on Liberia is under consideration; as is also the hint from Belfast.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JANUARY 26TH.

We have great satisfaction in informing our readers, that the French Society for the abolition of Slavery have finally determined to hold a public meeting at the *Hotel de Ville*, Paris, on the 21st February, 1842, for the abolition of Slavery in the French Colonies and throughout all Civilized States. At this meeting it is expected there will be representatives from different parts of the Continent of Europe, and to it a deputation from Great Britain and Ireland will be appointed.

We regret to find that the British consul in Cuba, Mr. Turnbull, has been placed under arrest by the authorities of Matanzas. The occurrence is mentioned in the *New Orleans Bee* in the following terms:—

A serious affair has just commenced in the neighbourhood of Matanzas. It appears that the English consul went, a few days since, to a plantation situated near that town, and attempted to obtain the emancipation of all the slaves belonging to a planter who had arrived from Jamaica. His seditious counsels might have occasioned a general revolt among the coloured population of that place. As soon as the commander at Matanzas obtained information of this occurrence, he arrested the consul, and sent him back here, escorted by soldiers, under the orders of the government. We do not know what will be the result of this affair.

We add the following extracts from the *Morning Herald*, and shall wait with interest the development of this case, which will probably be highly to the credit of the British functionary.

Our Madrid letter confirms the statement which has already appeared in the London papers of the arrest of Mr. Turnbull, the British consul at Havana, by the authorities of Matanzas, on the alleged charge of having incited some negroes to rise against their masters.

The Havana correspondence states that Mr. Turnbull, our consul, had been arrested at Matanzas, where he had gone on business, and brought in custody to the former city on a charge of having attempted to prevail on some slaves to mutiny against their owners. If true, this is a serious business, one which may bring about serious differences between the two governments.

Another disagreeable occurrence is likewise stated, namely, that an English boat laden with contraband goods, being closely pursued by the revenue cruisers, attempted to take shelter under the protection of our receiving ship there, but that she was nevertheless captured.

We observe in the Netherlands *Staats Courant*, of the 14th inst., an article referring to one in the *Reporter* of the 29th ult. (copied by us from the *Morning Herald*), of which a copy will be found in another part of our columns.

As our object is the spread of truth regarding slavery and the slave-trade, we have taken the earliest opportunity of inserting the reply. We have, however, to remark with regard to ourselves, that the *Staats Courant* has fallen into an error in attributing this article on Dutch slave-trade to our paper, for it was distinctly headed, *from the Morning Herald*. We trust, therefore, that the *Staats Courant*, and other Dutch papers that have inserted the article relative to the former statement in the *Reporter*, will do us the justice to give a place to our present remarks likewise.

Though, according to what is published by the Dutch Government journal, the transporting of African negroes to Java certainly assumes a somewhat different aspect, yet we sincerely rejoice that the practice is to be discontinued in future, as all transactions in negroes in Africa, of whatever kind, have the inevitable tendency of producing wars among the native princes in order to obtain them, and every one who is in any degree conversant with the horrors of the slave-trade, knows but too well with how much bloodshed and misery such wars are accompanied.

We have made some remarks at greater length in another part of our paper, under the head of *Slave-Trade and Dutch Soldiers*.

The case of the *Creole*, United States brig, conveying slaves from Richmond, Virginia, to New Orleans, which we briefly mentioned in our last as "a second Amistad," is one of

great interest and importance. It appears that, out of a cargo of one hundred and thirty-five slaves, nineteen (the leader of whom had the ominous name of Madison Washington) had concerted the rescue of the vessel, and their own liberation, by making an English port. It is, we believe, the first occurrence of the kind in the history of American slavery, and the more important because it is by no means likely to be the last. The slaves knew that a party wrecked on the Bahamas had previously acquired liberty; and this alone is enough to account for their attempt. If, however, they had learned also the particulars of the *Amistad*, it can hardly be doubted that their resolution was strengthened by the success of Cinque and his companions. The rescue of the *Creole* will undoubtedly be known throughout the slave regions of the United States, and may stimulate imitation to a very serious extent. Altogether the occurrence is evidently destined to produce a very powerful effect, both on the slave-holders and the slaves.

A most important element in the progress of the case is the action of the British government. The predominance of the slave-holding party in the United States will, of course, lead to the adoption of the most strenuous measures on the part of their government to obtain indemnity for the liberated slaves, and especially the surrender of the nineteen. Undoubtedly a fearful example would be made of them, with a view to deter others from similar attempts. We do not imagine, however, that Lord Aberdeen can hesitate for a moment as to the course he should pursue. As to indemnity for the liberated slaves, an established and noble precedent is already before him, in the refusal of Lord Palmerston to give indemnity for the slave cargo of the *Enterprise*, driven by stress of weather into Bermuda. This has been as yet the only case of American slaves making British ground since *emancipation*; and it was argued by Lord Palmerston on grounds so constitutional and just, that we conceive it will be recognized as an authoritative precedent in all similar cases. The question respecting the surrender of the active parties in effecting the rescue, may be taken to be already decided by the American courts themselves, in the case of the *Amistad*. If "a narrow margin of law" divides the cases one from the other, it is clear there is no difference in morals. The public interest will be as intense for the preservation of Washington and his companions from a judicial murder in America, as ever it was for the rescue of Cinque and the other Mendians from a similar atrocity in Cuba.

THE West India mail which has arrived since our last, brings further melancholy accounts of the condition of the European and American immigrants, of which some particulars will be found in another part of our paper. It appears that the attorney-general has moved in the house of assembly for an inquiry on the subject. This is satisfactory, and we have only to wish that it may be fully gone into, and honestly reported.

The only other matter of interest brought by this mail, is the "cry for help," as it has been called, from British Guiana, which we have noticed elsewhere.

We direct attention to a gratifying private letter from St. Lucia.

We copy from the public papers an interesting and important despatch, addressed by Mr. Aston, our ambassador at Madrid, to the Spanish government. We cannot but warmly congratulate the friends of humanity on the position which has thus been taken by the British government; nor need we withhold an expression of our gratification that it accords so nearly with the views set forth by the Anti-slavery Committee, in their memorial to Lord Palmerston of the 20th of March, 1840.

DEMAND OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT FOR THE RELEASE OF SLAVES ILLEGALLY INTRODUCED INTO CUBA AND BRAZIL.

SPAIN and Brazil have been for many years under the most solemn engagements to co-operate with this country in the suppression of the slave-trade. Under treaties with these powers the government of this country has acquired the right to demand what has become of the Africans who, it is notorious, have been illicitly and scandalously introduced by hundreds of thousands since the formation of these treaties, and who still continue to be introduced into the colonies and territories belonging to them, notwithstanding the vigilance of a fleet of British cruisers, kept up at an immense expenditure both of treasure and of life, on the coasts of Africa, Brazil, and Cuba, by Great Britain. Our treaties with Spain for the suppression of the slave-trade date as far back as the year 1817, and were purchased at an expense of £400,000 sterling, which large sum was paid as an indemnity for losses which Spaniards then engaged in the traffic might suffer as a necessary consequence of its abolition. By the treaty of 1817, the king of Spain engaged wholly to abolish the traffic in slaves "throughout the entire dominions of Spain, on the 30th day of May, 1820." And the laws of Spain declare all slaves clandestinely introduced into her colonies from that period to be free.

Our treaty with Brazil for the accomplishment of the same object was made in March, 1827, in which it was stipulated "that it shall not be lawful for the subjects of the emperor of Brazil to be concerned in carrying on of the African slave-trade, under any pretext, or in any manner whatever; and the carrying on such trade after that period, by any subject of his imperial majesty, shall be deemed and treated as piracy." In a decree

passed by the legislative assembly of Brazil, and which received the sanction of the regency in 1831, it was declared that "all slaves entering the territory or the ports of Brazil, coming from abroad, are free."

Now it is manifest that, had our treaties with these powers been respected, and their laws, grounded on the treaties, been carried into full effect, not only would the vast multitude of unhappy beings who are now enduring the most terrible fate to which men can be exposed; and the untold numbers who have miserably perished under circumstances the most revolting and horrible, have been preserved from slavery and death, but, the markets for slaves in these countries having been destroyed, the slave-trade, with all its atrocious accompaniments, so far as they were concerned, would have been destroyed also.

The rights acquired under these treaties Great Britain is now exercising. She demands of Spain the complete fulfilment of her obligations. She requires that power, as the test of her sincerity, to emancipate all the slaves who have been introduced into her colonies since the year 1820, in opposition to her laws and her engagements with this country. The present enlightened government of Spain have, we are happy to say, so far acceded to her demands as to call for information on the subject; and it is this call which has filled the slave-traffickers and slave-holders of Cuba with alarm. They well know that the liberation of the first slave feloniously introduced will destroy the slave-trade, by cutting up the system of slavery itself by the roots. The immense profits hitherto realized by the traffickers in human flesh, which has enabled them to bid defiance to all our efforts to put an end to their guilty practices, will be gone, "for no man buyeth their merchandise any more."

As to Brazil the same righteous demand will be made on her. She will be called upon to deliver from the bondage in which they are unlawfully held, an immense portion of her slave population, the victims of a trade which she herself spontaneously and nobly denounced as piracy, and which her greatest men and most valued citizens pronounce to have been, and to be, her greatest curse.

There are two parties in Brazil, as well as in Cuba, who feel the deepest interest in this question. In the Spanish colony, the Creole or native population are almost to a man opposed to the slave-trade, and, in their memorials to the regency, they charge the continuance of the guilty traffic on strangers, fostered and sustained by the home government. The native Brazilians are said to be equally averse to the slave-trade, and to lay the iniquity of its prevalence at the doors of the Portuguese who reside amongst them. However this may be, one thing is quite clear, that hitherto, the demand for slaves has been so excessive in both countries that the slave-traders have had ample "verge and scope" for their nefarious employment; and that, some how or other, with or without the connivance of the governments of Spain and Brazil, and the subordinates in office, the slave-trade has been carried on with undiminished vigour, and all the checks we have hitherto put on it have only had the effect of increasing its horrors without diminishing its extent. This is the point with which the government has to do; and it is cheering to know that at length it will add to its diplomatic remonstrances, the demand for the fulfilment, to the very letter of its treaties with those powers for the suppression of the giant evil.

On Spain the demand has already been made, and the correspondence with foreign powers contained in the slave-trade papers of 1840, will shew that preliminary steps have been taken to enforce a similar demand on Brazil. Mr. Ouseley, our representative at Rio, in a communication to M. Lopes Gama, minister for foreign affairs, dated 3rd June, 1840, after advertizing to the attempts which had been made by the slave-trade party in the Brazilian legislature to repeal the law of the 7th November, 1831, which gave effect to the treaty with this country, and secured, among other objects, the emancipation of all slaves illicitly introduced into Brazil; and after stating that the two governments they represented were bound, "both conjointly and separately, strongly and firmly to evince, by energetic acts, the good faith and efficiency of their united determination to put a stop to the fatal traffic in human beings, by which Brazil is inundated with uncivilized hordes, iniquitously kidnapped from their native country, and by which the prodigious efforts of her Majesty's government, and the expenditure which it has incurred, are sought to be rendered unavailing," observes—"It would be much to be lamented should any proposition pass which would render that law inoperative, or tend in any way to encourage the slave-trade, as the undersigned would have to protest in the strongest manner in the name of his government against its adoption; which, however, with the present enlightened administration, cannot be apprehended, as it is clearly impossible, in law or equity, whatever may unfortunately be *de facto* the practice, to deprive of their rights and liberty, guaranteed by the most positive laws and the stipulations of treaty, a multitude of individuals, unaccused even of crime, and living under the protection of the laws and engagements of the imperial government, for the sake of securing impunity to their criminal oppressors. The undersigned repeats, that the possibility of carrying into effect such a violation of all moral and legal right is not to be expected in a civilized country." Here rested the matter with Senhor Lopes Gama, who shortly after was succeeded in office by M. Aureliano de Souza e Oliveira Continho, to whom Mr. Ouseley addressed himself on the 28th August, 1840, stating that he had "received positive instructions to protest in the strongest manner

against the revocation of the law of the 7th November, 1831, by which, in fulfilment of philanthropic and just engagements with Great Britain, the unconditional freedom of illegally imported Africans into this empire was in the most solemn manner, guaranteed, and rendered their legal and absolute right." Of the entire concurrence of Lord Palmerston in the steps Mr. Ouseley had taken, we find proof in a despatch of his lordship to that functionary, dated the 2nd and the 25th September, 1840, from the latter of which we make the following extract:—"I have now to desire," says his lordship, "that you will state in writing to the Brazilian minister, that all negroes who have been duly found to have been illegally imported into Brazil are, by the treaty between Great Britain and Brazil, entitled to be considered free; and that her Majesty's government could not admit, that any law which the Brazilian legislature may choose to pass, would afford to the Brazilian government the slightest justification whatever for violating a treaty between the two countries." Senhor Aureliano, in his reply to Mr. Ouseley, says, that the administration of which he forms a part "sympathizes with the philanthropic sentiments of the age; that it is in no way in favour of the traffic in slaves; and that it will not belie these sentiments by the manner in which it considers the said project of law." Thus, we perceive, that matters are ripe for decision between the two governments. Brazil must emancipate, if she would maintain the honour of her legislature, her laws, and her engagements with this country. At all events, Great Britain will not allow her treaty to remain a dead letter: she will exact the bond, and that will determine the fate of the slave-trade. Humanity, justice, religion, the faith of treaties, and the integrity of law, are on our side; all that is required to the accomplishment of our righteous object, is firmness, and that we may be well assured will not be wanting on the part of her Majesty's government.

In pursuing a course dictated by a regard to her honour, and to her true and permanent interests, Brazil will gain immensely. Never, whilst she cultivates her soil by slaves, will her mighty resources be developed—never will her native energies be called into play—never will her civilization be advanced. "This trade in human flesh," says Senhor Jose Bonifacio d'Andrade e Silva, in his celebrated memoir to the assembly of the empire of Brazil, "is a cancer that preys on the bowels of Brazil, wasting its capital, demoralizing its population, and destroying its energies. Were slavery abolished," he says, "the inhabitants of this empire, instead of being listless and cruel, as in fact the greatest portion of them now are, would become humane and just: whilst they would in the lapse of time be considerable gainers, by putting into free circulation dead capital at present absorbed by the use of slaves, and they would, moreover, relieve their families from the domestic examples of corruption and tyranny now constantly before their eyes—from enemies of their own as well as of the state—from the sight of men, in short, who now cannot be said to have a country of their own, yet by proper management may be made trusty fellow-citizens and useful members of the community." In concluding an eloquent and energetic address, he says, "Awaken from your slumbers, legislators of this vast empire of Brazil! You know, nay, experience has fully convinced you, that we can never prosper—never enjoy the advantages of a real and secure industry—of an enlarged and flourishing agriculture, as long as we avail ourselves of the aid and assistance derived from raw and depraved slaves. Both reason and experience have proved that substantial riches are only to be found where freedom and justice prevail, and never where captivity and corruption are seen triumphant. And, ye traffickers in human flesh, ye unjust and cruel owners of slaves, listen to the imperative calls of conscience, and "the cries of suffering humanity. . . .

Which of ye, in the age in which we live, is fool-hardy and inconsiderate enough not to know, that the perpetual slavery ye seek to uphold is not only opposed to the precepts of the gospel and the dictates of sound policy, but also at variance with your future interests, if only well understood, as well as the personal security and tranquillity of yourselves and children? Generous citizens of Brazil! keep in mind that, without individual freedom, civilization and solid riches can never exist; without it morality and justice are mere names; and, where morality and justice are not practised, there can be neither gallantry, strength, nor power among nations."

The crime of Brazil is at the present moment its greatest punishment. To say nothing of the internal evils which afflict that empire, there can be no doubt that, but for the system of slavery, its relations with this country would be of the most favoured character.

SLAVERY IN CUBA.—ENGLAND AND SPAIN.

The following note has been addressed by the British ambassador at Madrid to the Spanish government, relative to the slaves in the island of Cuba:—

"British Legation in Spain, Madrid, December 17th, 1840.

"Sir,—Notwithstanding that the traffic in slaves under the flag of Spain has considerably diminished, in virtue of the treaty of June 15th, 1835, between Great Britain and Spain, nevertheless the dealers in slaves have hoisted other colours for the protection of their ships, by which means new importations of blacks from Africa have continued to supply the island of Cuba.

"It has been thought, in spite of this, that these abuses might be put a stop to by conferring on the mixed commission sitting at Havana the power to investigate into the cases of the negroes existing at Havana in

slavery, and declare whether they have been imported or not into the island subsequent to the 30th of October, 1820, and to decide whether the said negroes should be emancipated.

"With this object, her Majesty's government has prepared the draft of a convention, which I have been ordered to propose to the Spanish government.

"I some months since submitted a copy of the said convention to M. Perez de Castro, and his Excellency promised me that the matter should be immediately taken into consideration.

"I have, therefore, the honour of now submitting to your Excellency another copy of the draft of the above-mentioned convention, the object of which I some time since explained to your Excellency.

"Her most Catholic Majesty's government has invariably professed the same lively wishes as those which influence Great Britain in co-operating in all the measures already proposed for the abolition of this abominable traffic; and, notwithstanding, it is an unquestionable fact, that, instead of being lessened, or somewhat modified, in consequence of the restrictive measures heretofore adopted, the evil increases in the Spanish colonies, which position is unanswerably confirmed by the progressive increase of the slave population.

"In order to remedy this great abuse and violation of the existing treaties, it is proposed to confer on the mixed commission the power of enforcing the national law established to that effect, elevating it to a degree of sufficiency and vigour that shall place it in a condition to effectually destroy the evil; because, by preventing the demand for victims, their shipment from Africa will be checked. It is only necessary to convince the purchasers, as well as the owners, of African slaves, that they cannot reckon on possessing their illegal acquisitions with impunity, in order to prevent their continuing to employ their capital in this traffic, because they are no longer a commodity which can be offered for sale in the market. This is the only way of compelling people to abandon a traffic which can no longer yield advantages.

"All these objects will be attained by means of the stipulations in the proposed convention.

"It may, perhaps, be objected, that this convention might produce discontent, and even promote insurrection among those slaves who, in consequence of the place of their birth or the date of their importation, would have no claim to be emancipated; but in respect of said objection, should it be made, I must observe to your Excellency, that, in the plan proposed, it is not intended to interfere with the Creole population, or with such of the slaves as were introduced into the island previous to the 30th of October, 1820. Besides, the proceedings for declaring the emancipation of negroes are to be carried into effect individual by individual, and not by whole cargoes, by which means the execution of the convention will in reality be much less alarming in its totality, or in its individual importance, than the proceedings sanctioned by the already existing treaties.

"It is more than twenty years since the mixed commission sat at Havana, during which period frequent discussions have arisen that have affected the liberty of whole cargoes of negroes, without there being a solitary instance wherein the captain-general of Cuba found fault with the proceedings, which circumstance leads to the supposition, that the proposal for the extension of powers to the mixed commission may be acceded to without risk or inconvenience.

"Whilst submitting all which to your Excellency, I must add, that her Catholic Majesty will acquire great and lasting glory by consenting to the proposed convention, putting a term, by its means, to a practice that is repugnant as well as contrary to humanity.

"I avail myself of this opportunity for renewing, &c.

"ARTHUR ASTON."

"His Excellency Don Joaquim Maria De Ferrer, &c."

THE MENDIANS.

It is quite true that Mendi is a country, and in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone. The American committee, it appears, addressed (through the governor of Liberia) a letter of inquiry to the late lamented Sir John Jeremie, then governor of Sierra Leone; and the last papers furnish us with the very satisfactory reply of Lieutenant-governor Fergusson. It is as follows:—

Sierra Leone, 23rd October, 1841.

GENTLEMEN,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of a letter addressed by you to the late Sir John Jeremie, governor of this colony, under date New York, 25th March, 1841, relative to thirty-six persons, the survivors of the kidnapped Africans, who some years ago found their way to the United States in the schooner *Amistad*, and whom you are desirous of having returned to their native country.

While I am happy in being able to afford you satisfactory information as to the locality of Mendi (the country to which these persons are said to belong), I can confidently assure you of the cordial co-operation of this government in aid of the endeavour to restore them to it.

Mendi is situated on the banks of the Rokelle, or Sierra Leone river, and may be reached in three or four days from Freetown. Bey Fonti, its chief, is a party to a treaty of alliance existing betwixt this government and the confederated chiefs of the Timmaney country.

Sierra Leone is thus, from vicinity and facility of intercourse with Mendi, preferable to Monrovia or Gallinas (as suggested in your letter), as the place to which these persons should be brought, in order most conveniently to insure their return to their own country.

With respect to their removal from America, and their voyage across the Atlantic, I cannot, for these purposes, promise any aid of a pecuniary nature from this government. I may, however, assure you that, on their arrival here, they and their teachers will be cordially received, adequately maintained and provided for, and safely conducted to their own homes, under the protection of government, and at the public expense. It is not likely that a two years' residence in America will have effected such changes in the constitution of those Africans as to render their arrival here, at any season, hazardous; but, as their teachers are to be Americans not acclimated to this country, certain precautions may in respect to them be necessary. I would therefore recommend their arrival here at any period betwixt the first of December and the first of May; and I think it would be more advisable for them to return all together, than in small companies.

I have the honour to be, gentlemen, your most obedient humble servant,
W. FERGUSSON, Lieutenant Governor.
Meers. S. S. Jocelyn, J. Leavitt, L. Tappan.

THE "CRY" FROM BRITISH GUIANA.

GOVERNOR LIGHT's dispatch and Mr. Wolseley's report (after an extensive circuit through the colony) averring the high prosperity of British Guiana, which afforded so much pleasure in this country, have produced a very opposite effect in Guiana itself. It seems to have filled the plantocracy there with sadness, if we might not rather say that it has excited them to frenzy. They have begun forthwith to vociferate that the colony is in ruins and have applied themselves most sedulously, after their fashion, to prove that it is so.

Now we beg to say in the outset that all this is well understood. It is a mere repetition of a West Indian artifice now so completely seen through, that we almost wonder it should be resorted to afresh. But let us examine this new experiment on English credulity.

We have, then, before us the *Colonial Gazette* of the 12th instant, the first article in which is headed *A cry from Guiana for help*. A "correspondent," it appears, "an intelligent inhabitant of the colony," has collected (and sent to the editor of the *Colonial Gazette*) "some broad facts," which entitle him (and the editor too) to cry aloud for "*immigration in masses from all parts of Africa, and from the East Indies*." Whether the editor has made us acquainted with all the facts stated by his correspondent, does not appear, but those which he has suffered to transpire are far indeed from sustaining his conclusion. What does the reader think they are? So many bankruptcies! So many estates to be sold! So many acres going out of cultivation? Nothing of the kind. The "broad facts" stated are, that there are so many rivers and creeks, with so many miles of navigable water, so many square miles on the margins of them, and so many acres "available for sugar;" that there are so many miles of drainage, by navigable canals and small trenches, so many miles of sea-dam, so many brick sluices and iron tunnels, so many bridges, and so many sets of sugar works; after which the consummation of misfortune is, that there are one hundred thousand people besides! That our readers may not think we are taking an unwarrantable liberty with our contemporary, we will quote the sentence which immediately follows the table containing the information above specified.

"One hundred thousand persons, placed in the midst of six million acres of available land—among the richest in the world, and most accessible—more water frontage, and amid four millions of fixed capital! The readers of the *Colonial Gazette* scarcely need to be told the consequences."

Alas, for British Guiana! Verily her desolation has come.

When this manifest attempt to hoax the people of England is seriously looked at, it cannot but strike one as a very significant circumstance, that the cry for "immigration in masses" should be sustained by an appeal to the large tracts of land yet uncultivated. A producing country is not ruined, surely, because it has not hands enough to bring its waste lands under immediate culture. It clearly prospers if its existing cultivation is carried on at such a profit as to make the cultivation of its waste lands desirable. We shall be told, however, that the Guiana planters complain that they cannot carry on the existing cultivation at a profit, and we admit that they do say so; but this is the very thing we cannot understand. If they do not grow sugar at a profit now, how is it that they want to grow more? Do they want to lose more money, for the very disinterested purpose of supplying the whole British consumption of sugar, and demonstrating the superior cheapness of free labour? It seems to us, that the eagerness to cultivate the waste lands is a proof—and all the more convincing, because it is a proof undesignedly furnished by themselves—that the present culture is profitable, and that it is so to such an extent as to excite the cupidity of the planters to turn more "earth into gold." If we are wrong in this interpretation, will the planters furnish us with one more natural and just?

To turn, however, from the communication of this "well informed inhabitant" of the colony, which, after all, is but a private one, to proceedings more public and weighty. There was, it seems, on the 1st of December, a "meeting of proprietors and representatives of estates and other property," at Georgetown, Demerara, to show that sugar is now being made at a loss, and to devise means for remedying so serious an evil. The Committee who prepared a report for this meeting make a great boast of their assiduity in collecting information, and a great show of accuracy in the tabular exhibition of it. Their statements, however, if correct, are far too vague and general to be satisfactory. We cannot understand even their fundamental position, that "the average price of Demerara sugar in England cannot be estimated at more than £18. per hogshead;" that is, at 15 cwt. to the hogshead, twenty-four shillings per cwt. On the 1st of December, the *Gazette* average price of West India sugar, *ex* duty, was thirty-nine shillings per cwt., being fifteen shillings per cwt. in addition to the twenty-four shillings stated by the Committee. It is possible they may have intended to name the price of sugar at Demerara, and not "in England," the fifteen shillings per cwt. being charges of freight, commission, &c.; but even so the error is important, and if otherwise, it is destructive of their whole calculation.

But let us admit (what, nevertheless, there is much to call into suspicion) that the Guiana planters are making sugar at a cost greater than the price it sells for; what does this prove? Perhaps nothing, but that they are a wasteful and extravagant set, clinging to large salaries and expensive processes. The Com-

mittee, indeed, have not come to this conclusion. They ascribe it all—*mirabile dictu*—to the misconduct of the labourers, and the excessive bounty of the masters! And with this view they make out their table, adapting it to show prominently that too much money is paid in wages. There is a large amount under the general term *expenses*, of which (with great prudence) no details are given. They would not like the public to know how far they are from having yet adopted the most frugal and economical methods, nor how much wastefulness may be indulged at the cost of three hundred and thirty thousand dollars. In one item, however, they have been unguardedly frank and communicative. They have set down the sum paid for *salaries*. This is no less than 162,515 dollars for ten months, on sixty estates; or an average of £650 a year to each estate. Here goes the profit of sugar making, to the attorney and the manager! The labourers on the average get but eighteen pounds a-piece.

But now for the remedy. We must do this meeting of planters the justice to say, that they have not asked for a supply of immigrants. There is not a reference to this topic, either in the report of the committee, or in the remarks of the speakers. We cannot explain this, otherwise than by supposing—what we have no doubt is the truth—that the cry for immigration is rather artful than sincere. The remedies recommended by the committee are altogether of a different kind, and resolve themselves into the simple plan of coercing the labourers. These *sapient* gentlemen propose to reduce the ordinary wages of labour one-third, to give no task work, to give no bounty on extra work, to charge a dollar a week rent, and to eject tenants who work for other masters! We scarcely know whether the folly or the wickedness of this scheme is the more conspicuous. Less than wicked we cannot call it, to begin a system of economy, however necessary, by stealing one-third of their earnings from the only people in the colony who deserve the remuneration they get, rather than by the retrenchment of extravagant salaries and the correction of wasteful abuses. But the thing is as foolish as it is wicked. It is nothing less than a violent interference with the market for labour, and it can never succeed. Labour, like everything else will have its market price, and those who will not give the price, will find that they cannot get the article. Not even for a short time can this infatuated scheme succeed, without a universal combination of which the very account of this meeting shows us there is no expectation. The conspiracy will be broken up by the power of individual interests. But without this adverse element, and on the supposition that the planters could succeed to their heart's desire, what could follow from their success, but the growing alienation of the peasantry from sugar cultivation, and the direction of a larger number of hands to more eligible employment? Their success will but aggravate their calamity. If the labourers were slaves, their scheme might work; but freedom will beat them.

SPAIN: THE JUNTA OF COMMERCE OF CATALONIA.

The following is the memorial of the Junta of Commerce of Catalonia to the Regent of Spain, conveying to him the document inserted in our last, with the reply of the government.

TO THE REGENT OF SPAIN.

Most serene Sir—This junta of commerce has received notice of the declaration which the tribunal of commerce of Havana transmitted on the 30th March last to the then provisional regency of the kingdom, calling its attention to the evils which would result from the realization of the project for the emancipation of the slaves, which has been for some time conceived by the English East India Company, and which appears to receive the secret support of the government of that nation.

Before coming to any decision with respect to a question as important as delicate, and pregnant with results of transcendent interest, not only to the general commerce of the Peninsula, but even to the internal condition of the few colonies which remain to us; this junta believed it well to obtain the opinions of persons who, by a long residence in that country, had acquired a theoretical and practical acquaintance with the subject. They have presented a detailed and lucid exposition, a copy of which, penetrated and instructed by the depth of the observations it contains, this junta begs to transmit to your highness, praying that this new data may be added to the despatch now being prepared on the representation of the tribunal of the Havana; in order that they may possess every information in making a final provision with reference to the emancipation of the slaves, which is a question of the utmost importance for the nation, and for the retention of her ultramarine possessions.

Barcelona, 22nd June, 1841.

(Here follow the signatures.)

TO THE JUNTA OF COMMERCE OF CATALONIA.

Supreme Political Government of Barcelona.

Having transmitted to the government the exposition which the junta forwarded to me on the 22nd June last, in support of the memorial of the tribunal of commerce of Havana, praying that no project may be entertained which directs itself to the emancipation of the slaves in that island, the minister of marine, commerce, and the colonies, acquainted me on the 3rd inst., in answer to your representations, that he had already informed the aforesaid tribunal of commerce, that the supreme government does respect, and will continue to respect, property in every case, however constituted; but, that at the proper time, it desires that the treaty ratified in 1833 for the abolition of the traffic in negro slaves to the coast of Africa, may have full effect, in order to avoid the remonstrances founded on this delicate subject. I forward this for your information, and in fulfilment of the directions I have received from his highness, the Regent, through the aforesaid minister.

DIONISIO VALDEZ.

Barcelona, 13th July, 1841.

EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN EMIGRANTS IN JAMAICA.

To the Editor of the *Baptist Herald*.

From the 12th of March to the end of July in this year, there arrived at Hyde Hall estate, in this parish, twenty-one emigrants; six of these were married men, and brought their wives with them, and children amounting, I believe, to sixteen; the others were single. Where are they now? Eleven of the working party are dead, with four of the children; a widow of one has left for America, and this week the only surviving widow, with five children will be sent to America by the benevolence of a few individuals in Falmouth. If I am correct, eight labourers are left, five of whom are now ill; of the orphan children six are in a most deplorable state, and, if something is not done, will soon have followed their unhappy parents to the grave.

On the 19th of April there arrived at Glamorgan, a pen belonging to Hyde Hall, and within two miles of the same, four emigrants and a child, —the man, woman, and child are dead, they died in June. One of the remaining emigrants is sick. On the 18th of October several others arrived half of them are already on the sick list, and in all probability will soon be numbered with the dead.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

W. KNIBB.

P. S. Since this was written, one of the remaining emigrants, John Payne, is dead, and another now lies beyond the hope of recovery.

W. K.

To the Editor of the *Baptist Herald*.

Sir,—I have just returned from a scene the most-painful and soul-harrowing I ever witnessed—a dwelling filled with the sick and the dying, the victims of a system only equalled—scarcely surpassed—by the diabolical slave-trade.

It will be in your recollection, that, about seven weeks since, a vessel arrived at St. Ann's Bay with immigrants from America. Of the whole number not more than half a dozen, I understand, procured employment. Some have set out on foot to Kingston, and others to Falmouth, in search of the means of existence; four are in the grave; SEVENTEEN, I beheld, prostrated with fever, one fast hastening to another world, but "looking unto Jesus,"—another, insensible to every thing but his own sufferings, in the agonies of death. The remainder (ten or twelve in number) are wretched in the extreme: with only one exception, they have all had severe sickness, under the effects of which they are still suffering. Some bear their hard lot with fortitude—others wish the vessel had gone down with them; and others are well nigh heart-broken at being deceived, and ruined.

Who can wonder at their complaints! They were induced to give up their situations and abandon their prospects in America, in consequence of the flattering promises held out to them respecting Jamaica—plenty of employment, superior wages, excellent cottages, land for cultivation, &c. &c. They forsook their homes, left their kindred, and embarked for Jamaica, their hearts beating high with hope and expectation. What have they found? Disappointment and despair—sickness and the grave!

Not far distant in the dépôt at Hilton Hill, nearly all the 200 immigrants who two months since came out in the *New Phœnix* remain unemployed.

Can we wonder, sir, at God's judgments coming on the inhabitants of this island—who as soon as they have washed their hands of negro blood, are embroiling them in the blood of white men? It is high time the promised searching inquiry into the immigration scheme was instituted—it is high time the white "slave-trade" was abolished.

I remain, Sir, your's respectfully,

JOHN CLARK.

Extract of a letter from the Rev. John Clark, to Mr. Sturge, dated Brown's Town. December 4th, 1841.—The friends of humanity in Britain will, I trust, continue to lift up their voice against the immigration scheme. It is producing the most disastrous results. About two months since the *New Phœnix* brought upwards of 200 immigrants, chiefly Irish, into this parish.

It is scarcely necessary to say, that they are disappointed and dissatisfied, and there is so little need of their services that nearly half of them are remaining at the dépôt, living in idleness and wretchedness. Shortly after their arrival came a vessel from America with about fifty men—many of whom, tempted by the flattering prospects held out to them in Jamaica, gave up their situations in Boston, and came thither with high expectations, only to meet with disappointment, sickness, and in many cases a premature grave. I had not an opportunity of visiting them, until last week, and then learned that only about half a dozen of the number had procured employment; some had gone to Kingston, and others to Falmouth, to seek the means of support, and four had fallen victims to the prevailing sickness, about thirty remained, of these seventeen were prostrated with fever, and two were in a dying state. The remainder, with a single exception, had been very ill, but were out of danger. It is but justice to say, that great care and attention have been paid to this unhappy people. All who could bear the journey have been removed to a healthy residence in the mountains, and I believe there is reason to hope that they will recover. But what are they then to do? They were to be provided cottages, acres of land for cultivation, rent, with wages of a dollar and upwards per diem. But, alas! there are neither cottages for them, nor land; and the highest wages offered is one shilling and sixpence, instead of four shillings, for able day labourers. The result will, I fear, be similar to the experiment of 1835 and 1836, the history of which is one of mourning, lamentation and woe.

* Both have since died, and the convalescent have been removed to the mountains.

PRESIDENT TYLER EATEN UP BY SLAVES.—A very respectful memorial, signed by sixty ministers of the Maine Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, has been sent to Mr. Tyler, protesting against the president of a Christian republic holding slaves, &c. One of the presiding elders remarked, that not many years ago President Tyler inherited from his father a large number of slaves, from whom he selected some fifteen or twenty for his own use, and disposed of the remainder. Those fifteen or twenty have multiplied, till now the president has seventy or eighty slaves. Having nothing for them to do, he proposed to some of them not long since to go to a plantation and work: this they steadily declined doing; and they are literally eating up the president.—*Liberator.*

UNHEARD OF CRUELTIES IN GUADELOUPE.

[From *La Revue des Colonies*, of November, 1841.]

A DEED of great atrocity has just been perpetrated at the fabrique d'engrais of Morue à Savou. This establishment, situated very near Point-a-Pitre on the other side of the road, belongs to M. Boisaubin, a relation of the too celebrated Drouillard-Mahaudiere. A monster known for his ferocity towards the slaves was overseer of the plantation. It was with joy that M. Boisaubin encountered such a man as the miscreant Laffranque to direct the labours of his slaves. Two runaway negroes, Sixpouces and Jacob, having been seized, imagine the refinement of barbarity, the frightful punishment which was inflicted on them. These two slaves were tied together face to face, body to body, in such a manner as to appear to be fitted one to the other. In this position they were flogged, whilst Laffranque was causing an iron to be made red-hot. The instrument of torture being ready, this monster thrust it into the bowels of the uppermost slave. The excruciating pain of this internal burning caused the victim to make such a movement as to place his wretched companion uppermost, who in his turn was subjected to the ordeal of the red-hot iron. The barbarity did not stop here. Having made the two slaves dress themselves, Laffranque, by the aid of a funnel, poured into their mouths a mixture of faeces and urine. He has been arrested. What did he say to justify himself? That the burning was administered as an excellent cure for vermin! The trial will reveal other crimes of Laffranque.

ST. LUCIA.—[Extract of a letter from a special magistrate to Mr. Sturge, dated November 10th, 1841.]—In this part of the world you will be rejoiced to learn that the results of emancipation are in the highest degree cheering. A more well-disposed, industrious, religious, and generally moral people than our black population does not exist on the face of the earth: and in how short a time have all their good qualities been developed! When I contrast their condition and habits now with what they were a few years ago, during slavery, and even in apprenticeship, the change seems almost magical; and yet liberty (by the blessing of God) has alone done all this. The people are the same, but they are no longer callous and heart-broken under the cruelties and wretchedness of slavery. Instead of being trampled on and treated worse than the very beasts of burden, they now feel themselves on a level with their fellow-creatures, and by word and deed show that they are so; whilst their steady and indefatigable industry, respectable deportment, and anxiety for education, falsify most triumphantly the predictions of those advocates for slavery, who foretold that the negroes, if freed, would relapse into a state of barbarism. I have never heard or read of any labouring population who have raised themselves from the depths of degradation to such respectability in so short a period as our negroes have done; and I rejoice to say, that their improvement in every respect is progressing.

In my last communication I mentioned to you that I anticipated that the sugar crop for this year would exceed by 40 per cent. that of the previous one, and I am happy now to say that my expectations have been fulfilled. I believe, indeed, the results would have been still greater, but for the defective system of plantership which prevails in this colony.

The machinery for manufacturing sugar has also hitherto been of a very inferior description; but the proprietors and lessees of estates, finding that they can depend on the continuous industry of their labourers, are now beginning to arouse themselves, and many great improvements are in progress. The appearances for next crop are most flattering. Should no blight or hurricane intervene, I do not hesitate to affirm, that the crop of 1842 will exceed that of 1841 by upwards of 40 per cent. This is indeed cheering.

CAPTURE OF A SLAVER.—The brig *Gabriel*, a slaver, was captured when fifteen days from Havana, by her Majesty's brig *Acorn*; she had a crew of sixty-three Spaniards, and exchanged several shots with the *Acorn*. Her cargo consisted of dry goods, lumber, and rice. In one of the bags of rice were found papers, which stated that there were twenty-eight slave-vessels fitting out at Havana. The brig's crew were put on board the *Acorn*, which sailed for the coast of Africa to land them on a desolate and uninhabited part of the coast. Seven other vessels previously captured were breaking up at Saint Helens, and 1600 slaves were on that island.

RIGHT.—The captain of a British steamer was recently fined twenty-five dollars at Kingston, Canada, for removing a coloured man from the table on account of his colour, to gratify the spleen of some Yankees.—*Free American.*

Advertisements.

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

A FEW COPIES OF THE SECOND VOLUME OF THE REPORTER, Half-bound, are now on Sale at the Office of the Society, 27, New Broad Street, price Eight Shillings. Those friends who wish a complete copy will please to apply without delay.

Just Published.

A N EPITOME OF ANTI-SLAVERY INFORMATION, or a Condensed View of Slavery and the Slave Trade, &c., &c. Price Twopence each, or Ten Shillings per hundred. This will be found invaluable as an Anti-slavery Manual.

THOMAS WARD & Co., 27, Paternoster Row, London.

Printed by WILLIAM JOHNSTON, and RICHARD BARRETT, of 18, Mark Lane, in the Parish of All Hallows Staining, and City of London: and Published by LANCELOT WILDE, of 18, Catherine Street, Strand, in the Parish of St. Mary-le-Strand, and City of Westminster, at 18, Catherine Street, Strand, as aforesaid. Sold by W. EVERETT, 10, Finch Lane, Cornhill. January 26th, 1842.